

Shail A.

[Max Linder and the Emergence of Film Stardom.](#)

Early Popular Visual Culture 2016, 14(1), 55-86.

Copyright:

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Early Popular Visual Culture* on 14/04/2016, available online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17460654.2015.1092665>

Date deposited:

14/04/2016

Embargo release date:

14 October 2017



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International licence](#)

Max Linder and the Emergence of Film Stardom

Andrew Shail

School of English Literature, Language & Linguistics, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

Abstract

This article reconstructs the story behind Pathé Frères' decision to launch the first ever star publicity campaign for a film performer who was not already famous from another cultural realm: their late-1909 campaign for Max Linder. After showing that this celebrity-building effort definitely predates the beginnings of the star system in the United States, I go on to argue that we can also draw a direct causal link between this star-system-occasioning event in France and the first decision to launch a publicity campaign in the US: IMP's campaign for Florence Lawrence, which, I show, predated the first star publicity campaigns of the Motion Picture Patents Company affiliates by several months. Proposing, therefore, that the model of the causality of the emergence of the star system proposed by Richard deCordova in *Picture Personalities* (1990) is incomplete, I identify the exceptional circumstances experienced by Pathé and IMP that led them, rather than their competitors, to make the significant investments necessary to establish their performer employees as production values and thereby instigate the star system, suggesting a new model of causality for the emergence of film stardom.

Keywords: Max Linder, Pathé Frères, Carl Laemmle, Florence Lawrence, stardom, production value, star system

This article is a translation of 'Max Linder et l'émergence de le vedettariat du cinéma', forthcoming in *Max Linder et le comique début de siècle*, ed. Laurent Le Forestier and Laurent Guido (Paris: Association française de recherche sur l'histoire du cinéma, 2016).

Contact: Andrew Shail, andrew.shail@ncl.ac.uk

There has been significant reluctance to champion Max Linder as the first film star in the world. In 2006 Pierre Lherminier remarked that in October 1909 Linder "devient une vedette à part entière chez Pathé [became a star in his own right at Pathé]" (312), but did not go so far as to claim that this made him the first film star in the world.¹ In unpublished and undated manuscript material Henri Langlois once wrote that "Max Linder avait avec André Deed la gloire d'être partage la premier apparition à l'écran de la star [Max Linder had with André Deed the glory of sharing the first appearance on the screen of the star]" (n.d., n.pag.), but this was a shared position. Richard Abel remarked in 1994 that "[i]n late summer, 1909, under [Louis] Gasnier's direction, Linder began appearing in a regular series of Pathé comedies with his name soon included in each film's advertisement" (237), but, possibly because his 'soon' obscures uncertainty about precisely when Pathé named him in advertisements, did not go so far as to claim that this made Linder the first film star in the world, even though he had already claimed, the previous year, that Linder was "the earliest French film star" (1993, 383n100). Indeed, the only claim that Linder was "the world's first film star" of which I am aware is made by Ginette Vincendeau, who expresses bemusement that "Linder is not more widely recognized as the world's first film star" (2000, 42; she calls him this three more times [43, 45, 54]).

A claim of *international* priority for Linder is, by contrast, very common. Even Vincendeau partly withdraws her claim for Linder's temporal priority by switching back and forth between this claim and the claim that he was "the first international film star" (2000, 43, 42). Other examples can be seen in the 1976 second edition of Gerald Mast's *Short History of the Movies*, in

which Mast called Linder “the first internationally famous star of motion pictures” (40-41), a phrase that remains unaltered in even the most recent edition (the eleventh, published in 2010), updated after Mast’s death by Bruce Kawin (50), as well as the homepage of the Institut Max Linder, on which anonymous text written in 2011 refers to Linder as “la toute première vedette internationale du Cinéma [the very first international star of cinema]”. The implicit logic of this claim is that while Linder might not have been literally the first film star (Vincendeau’s partial withdrawal of her claim derives, I suspect, because she is not confident of the sparse evidence for this claim, drawn from Richard Abel’s work, on which she relies [48]),² by overtaking any precursors in popularity to become the first *international* film star, he conveniently rendered unimportant the question of who was first created as a film star; if he was the first person to attain film-specific celebrity across multiple developed countries, it is implied, it doesn’t really matter if he didn’t happen to be the first person to attain film-specific celebrity anywhere.

No Anglophone historians of film stardom have, so far, found reason to abandon this reluctance. Indeed, research using the well-preserved North-American trade press would seem to confirm that doubt about Linder’s temporal primacy is warranted. The earliest mention of his name in the North-American trade press that I have been able to confirm appeared in the 26 March 1910 issue of *Moving Picture World*, which would have been on sale from 19 March 1910, at the end of an article on recent events at Pathé (including the flood at their Joinville factory): “On March 28, Pathe [sic] will release a delightful comedy, full of vital humor and played with great gusto by Max Linder, the famous comedian who for years has made such a hit all over American in the Red Rooster films” (Anon. 26 Mar. 1910, 471).³ Pathé’s 28 March 1910 release featuring Linder was *Petite rosse*, retitled in the US as *The Little Vixen* (Anon. 2 Apr. 1910, 530). If one was to assume that this date represents a decision on the part of Pathé Frères to begin to publicise Linder’s name generally in both domestic and international markets, and as this issue of *Moving Picture World* was the issue immediately *after* the issue in which Carl Laemmle’s new Independent Moving Pictures (IMP) company had placed the famous advertisement denying purported reports of Florence Lawrence’s death (Anon. 12 Mar. 1910, 365), an advertisement that formed part of IMP’s lead-up to the weekend of public appearances by Lawrence and fellow IMP performer King Baggott in St Louis on 25-27 March 1910, it would seem reasonable to conclude that Pathé lagged slightly behind the domestic American companies in deciding to launch a publicity campaign for a film-only performer. In the work cited above, for example, Richard Abel concludes that Linder was “the earliest French film star” – and hence not the earliest film star in the world – on the basis of items of publicity in the US and France that were published no earlier than the middle of July 1910 (1993, 383n100).

Indeed, the fact that Pathé’s announcement of Linder’s name in the trade press in the US was made amongst a cluster of announcements reflecting decisions to launch publicity campaigns for film-only performers oriented at the general public – such as the Vitagraph company organising the first of a string of public appearances by Florence Turner on 9 April 1910 at the Saratoga Park “moving picture parlor” in Brooklyn (Anon. 11 Apr. 1910, 19; Anon. 23 Apr. 1910a, 644) – would seem to lend weight to Richard deCordova’s 1990 proposal (a proposal in which deCordova made no mention of Linder) that film stardom emerged because a widespread discursive shift in the concept of what it meant to ‘be filmed’ made it common sense that film production companies should be publicly naming their employees, rather than as a result of a decision by any specific person, specific company or specific group of companies (1990, 23-46). And of course, if the decision to launch the first publicity campaigns for film-specific celebrities was made collectively and at an unconscious level, it was merely a matter of accident *which* company first acted on this unconscious collective decision, making the work of investigating the question of Linder’s temporal primacy – and indeed of anyone’s temporal primacy – seem both unimportant and ill-conceived. I will show, however, that all currently available evidence indicates that Max Linder was indeed the first film star in the world by a significant margin, meaning that there is reason to doubt deCordova’s model of causality, and

that there is even evidence to suggest that Pathé's campaign for Linder in Europe was directly instrumental in the emergence of film stardom in the US.

Pathé Frères' publicity campaign for Linder in Europe commenced in September 1909.⁴ His name first appeared in connection with *Le petit jeune homme*, in both trade-oriented publicity and public-oriented publicity. Although few of the major French film trade papers have survived from the last four months of 1909 (and *Ciné-Journal*, one that *has* survived from this period, seems to have been refusing to even mention Pathé Frères' films at the time), we do know that Linder's name was first mentioned in the UK film trade press in *Bioscope*'s synopsis for *Le petit jeune homme* (titled *The Young Lady-Killer* in the UK) in their 2 September 1909 issue (Anon. 2 Sept. 1909, 19), which suggests that Pathé Frères issued his name in the information that they sent to trade publications around Europe alongside this film.⁵ Pathé also definitely issued, in French, publicity material that named Linder purposed to advertise *Le petit jeune homme* not just to film trade personnel but to the general public: in spite of gaps in the evidence base in France, we do know that they issued posters bearing Linder's name for *Le petit jeune homme* (see Figure 1), the first use of his name on a poster issued by Pathé of which I am aware.⁶ Dating the debut of this film is difficult, given that a system of release dates was not yet formalised in Europe at the time, but given the time lags that applied when this system began to be adopted in the last few weeks of 1909, it is possible to date at least the UK debut to roughly 8-11 September 1909. Given the time lag between the dates when films were first mentioned in the UK trade press and the dates when films were first mentioned in France in issues of the French trade journal *Kinéma* dating from the previous month (issues which describe the films issued in the UK shortly before *Le petit jeune homme*),⁷ it is likely that the film was first listed under 'Les nouveaux films' in *Kinéma*'s 27 September 1909 issue and was therefore issued in France during the first few days of October. This tallies with Henri Bousquet's remark that the film was being shown in at the Pathé Grolée in Lyon on 15 October 1909 (1993, 210), though I have not been able to confirm this. This unusual delay between the date when Pathé issued their films in parts of Europe *outside* of France and the date when they issued their films in their own domestic market was most likely caused by a backlog that had begun to build up in June/July 1909 when Pathé had started to hire out their films in France as twice-weekly programmes rather than individually,⁸ which meant that a stream of films, a stream that could be poured into open markets outside France as soon as each film was ready, had to be formed, domestically, into a kind of queue that was only two programmes per week wide.



Figure 1: Pathé Frères' poster for *Le petit jeune homme* (issued in parts of Europe outside France on c.8-11 September 1909 and in France in c. early October 1909). Institut Max Linder.

To the best of my knowledge, Pathé's use of Linder's name in the publicity for *Le petit jeune homme* was the first time that a film production company anywhere in Europe and North America had used the identity of a film-only performer as a production value. For example, a survey of the 45 production-company-produced posters for the (mostly French) fiction films issued in 1908 and 1909 that survive in France's cinémathèques shows that until September 1909 the only time that names of creative staff of any role were included was when these people had an affiliation that spoke of fame elsewhere (most bore the 'Films d'Art' or 'S.C.A.G.L.' brand).⁹ The poster for *Le petit jeune homme* is the earliest surviving poster in these collections, and anywhere that I am aware of, where a name was given without any accompanying statement of a stage affiliation or mention of any associated prestige brand. The fact that Pathé issued this first instance of publicity naming Linder specifically in connection with *Le petit jeune homme*, in spite of the difference of about three weeks between this film's release in the rest of Europe and its release in France, indicates that Pathé made the decision to use Linder's identity as a production value shortly before they commissioned the publicity material for this film, publicity material that, in France, had to wait, alongside the film, in Pathé's domestic 'queue'. This makes it possible to narrow down the rough date when this decision was made to no later than 20 August 1909 (i.e. in time for copy to be received for the 2 September issue of *Bioscope*).

Some inconspicuous sources from August 1909 can explain *why* Pathé made what, in this context, constituted a drastic decision to begin a publicity campaign for one of their long-term performer employees. During the first three years in which he performed for films for Pathé, Linder had worked in several runs of stage plays, first for the Théâtre de l'Ambigu and then, from the middle of 1906, for the Théâtre de Variétés. In April 1908, a long run of Gaston

Arman de Caillavet, Robert de Flers and Emmanuel Arène's comedy *Le roi* began at the Théâtre de Variétés, with Linder playing the small part of William Touret (the character features in just one of the play's 40 scenes and speaks just eleven lines) but also understudying the major role of Blond for the more renowned actor Max Dearly.¹⁰ Hoping that playing Blond, a character with 153 lines who features in 12 of the play's 40 scenes, when Dearly was unwell would open the door to lead roles, Linder decided not to renew his contract with Pathé, due to expire c. October 1908. His last film under this contract seems to have been *Consultation improvisée*, first shown around early October 1908.¹¹ Linder continued to work exclusively for the Théâtre de Variétés in *Le roi* until the end of the play's second season on 5 June 1909, at which point he seems to have decided to abandon his stage career (the expected career break on the stage which he had been courting since 1905 had not occurred; he did not feature in any cast lists when the play began a third season on 18 June 1909).¹² He then approached Pathé with the intent of signing a new contract under which he would establish a career performing for films. In June or early July 1909, Linder signed this new contract with Pathé,¹³ and his first film under this new contract, *Aimé par sa bonne*, was first being shown in parts of Europe *outside* France from around 4 August 1909,¹⁴ and *in* France from around 20 August 1909.¹⁵ None of the publicity that I have seen for this film, either public-oriented or trade-oriented, named Max Linder,¹⁶ so it seems that even in early August 1909 the executives at Pathé did not regard it as feasible to build a celebrity profile for him. However, it is likely that they were soon confronted with evidence from multiple sources that viewers of *Aimé par sa bonne* had *recognised* Linder, *in spite* of his anonymity in Pathé's publicity for this film, and *in spite* of his roughly nine-month absence from Pathé's films. Georg Renken has discovered a synopsis for the film in an advertisement for the Kinematoscope, a cinema in Herne in western Germany, in the 7 August 1909 issue of their house publication the *Kinematoscope Zeitung*, announcing their programme for the period 7-10 August 1909:

Vom Dienstmädchen geliebt / Hochkomischer Schlager. Diese Szene wird von einem sehr beliebten Schauspieler, welcher uns schon von den Bildern, "Meine Hose ist geplatzt" [*Mon pantalon est déchoué* (1908)], "August geht zum Ball" [*Julot va dans le monde* (1906)] usw., her bekannt ist, gespielt. [**Loved by the maid** / High comic hit. This scene is played by a very popular actor, known here from "My Trousers are Split [*Mon pantalon est déchoué* (1908)]", "August Goes to the Ball" [*Julot va dans le monde* (1906)], etc.] (Anon. 7 Aug. 1909, n.pag.)¹⁷

And even though *Aimé par sa bonne* was not released in the US until 25 September 1909 (under the title *The Servant's Good Joke*), meaning that commentaries on the film could not have influenced Pathé's decision to publicise him in Europe for *Le petit jeune homme*, surviving American commentaries on the film are nonetheless indicative of the likelihood that European viewers would have recognised him too, and these commentaries include three statements of recognition. The review of *Aimé par sa bonne*/*The Servant's Good Joke* in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* included the remark that "[t]his comedy picture, which is a series of laughs all through, depends largely for its success on the admirable pantomime of a Pathe comedian whose face has been absent from Pathe [sic] pictures for some months. His return will be warmly welcomed by many admiring patrons of picture houses" (Anon. 9 Oct. 1909a, 16). "This clever comedy", the *Moving Picture World's* synopsis began,

will be welcomed by many of the old patrons, owing to the fact that the principal character is played by one of the best comedians who ever portrayed a comedy part in our pictures. This gentleman will be readily remembered by his excellent work in "The Unskillful Skater," which is only one of his many great successes that has left an indelible impression upon the mind of the public. (Anon. 25 Sept. 1909, 425)

This phenomenon of a viewer recognising Linder in spite of his career hiatus was also described in *Moving Picture World's* later review (not necessarily written by the author of the earlier synopsis): "The chief merit of this film", it ran, "lies in the fact that the leading character is played by one of the best comedians Pathe [sic] ever put on the screen. He will be remembered as the one who

played the comedy role in “The Unskilful Skater,” which was extremely funny” (Anon. 9 Oct. 1909b, 491). This particular reviewer’s comments evidence a significant act of recognition: *The Unskilful Skater* (originally *Les débuts d’un patineur*) was listed in the American trade publication *Views and Film Index* on 11 May 1907 (Abel 1994, 444), and although it may still have been circulating into 1909, it did so in the company of several thousand fiction films from this period: this writer was either picking Linder out from the hundreds of performers featuring in these films or had already been recognising him from film to film for some years.

While these records merely evidence that some people whose job involved watching many films recognised Linder, they nonetheless suggest that more such indications were circulating around Europe, both in discussions and in print, during the middle of August 1909, even before *Aimé par sa bonne* was issued in France. And it is reasonable to assume that at least a handful of examples of this phenomenon of recognition of Linder by audience members came to the attention of the executives at Pathé Frères. This information implied that a deadlock situation endemic to new cultural forms was not actually as insoluble as it seemed. This deadlock was comprised of the following principles: any executive of a company producing films anywhere in the world in early 1909 would have been aware of the benefits of issuing publicity for a film that included the names of a performer *if* that performer already possessed a measure of celebrity in, for example, an older cultural practice, or in politics or in sport, and would have been just as aware that if such people agreed to be filmed either in the habitual activities of their existing profession or in a performance orchestrated specifically for a film, this work was likely to be temporary, given that their existing celebrity gave them ample motivation *not* to leave their existing career for a career in performing for films. By contrast, as the people whom film production companies employed to perform regularly for their films had little or no existing celebrity, their employers had no motivation to spend money on producing publicity material that named them. Lastly, while it was possible to imagine building a public profile for a regular employee from scratch, film production companies would first need to be convinced that investing in such a publicity campaign would achieve sufficient financial return to make such an investment worthwhile, and when they already had such efficient means of production differentiation as genre and the production company’s own brand,¹⁸ there was no motive for them to do this; indeed there was a substantial *disincentive*, given that building a celebrity profile for an employee would risk creating ‘wandering’ value, in that employees could take their public profile with them to another employer the next time their contract expired, which would render the initial employer’s expenditure counterproductive by ‘arming’ a competitor.¹⁹ This deadlock led to the systemic anonymity that dominated in Europe and North America for most of the first decade of the twentieth century. During the middle of August 1909, however, when the executives at Pathé Frères were confronted with evidence that viewers of *Aimé par sa bonne* were recognising Linder *both* in spite of his lengthy break from films – which evidenced the distinctiveness of his facial features, body shape and habits of movement – *and* in spite of his anonymity in their publicity so far, they were being informed that value had accrued in Linder *anyway*, in spite of the existing norm of systemic anonymity. This revelation would have made the existing system seem flawed: now, with (at least) one widely recognised employee, Pathé would have realised that they ran the risk of losing this accrued value to their competitors *in spite of* adhering to the principle of anonymity. This realisation (combined with the reduced competition of other creative figures in the production of *Le petit jeune homme*, as Linder had also written the scenario (see Figure 1)), seems to have led to Pathé’s decision to capitalise on this accidentally accrued value by giving this value a name in both their trade-oriented publicity and their public-oriented publicity. Thus a situation had come about where a film-only performer had achieved the fundamental characteristics of a production value: that is, an expenditure that is involved in producing a film is deemed worthy of advertising *as an expenditure* to the general public. That Pathé used Linder’s name as a production value in their advertising for *Le petit jeune homme* (and not, for instance, for *Amoureux de la femme à barbe*, the one film between *Aimé par sa bonne* and *Le*

petit jeune homme in which Linder definitely performed) allows us to date this decision to a window of time around c.10-c.20 August 1909.

While Richard deCordova's model of the emergence of film stardom is based on discrediting the proposal that the public was the prime mover of the adoption of the star system (a stance that requires deCordova to distort the views of earlier historians for it to appear that this idea comprised a tenacious orthodoxy amongst film historians at the time when he was writing [1990, 4-5]),²⁰ the circumstances of Pathé's decision to begin to make Linder a production value suggest that the actions of film viewers were nonetheless highly instrumental, at least in the case of Pathé. They launched their publicity campaign for Linder not with the first film of his new stint (*Aimé par sa bonne*) and not after several months, but shortly after this stint started,²¹ suggesting that their view of his nature as an asset was drastically changed during a period of just a few weeks. If they had started their publicity campaign for Linder with *Aimé par sa bonne*, all other factors remaining the same, this would have demonstrated that the fact that he was now expected to consistently play lead roles (which had not been the case during his previous stint)²² was sufficient for them to consider him a production value. If they had started their publicity campaign for Linder after several months, this could have been because of their assessment of the popularity of Linder's films in both rentals and sales markets, popularity which could have been ascribed to common properties such as sub-genre rather than to his appearance in them. By contrast, their decision to start their publicity campaign for Linder less than a month after the issuing of his first film in this new stint suggests that news reached them in this brief window of time that reversed their assumptions about the normalcy of anonymity for performers who were not already famous. Of course, it could have been Pathé's own publicity for *Aimé par sa bonne* (if, for example, the *Kinematoscope Zeitung* advertisement reproduced above was copied verbatim from publicity created by Pathé) that prompted these accounts of recognition, but this was almost certainly anonymous publicity: that is, at the time of the issue of *Aimé par sa bonne*, while they do seem to have decided to consistently give Linder lead roles, they were still not yet convinced of the feasibility of using his name as a production value. The poster for *Le petit jeune homme* (see Figure 1), by contrast, suggests that, in Pathé's view, audiences in France were already sufficiently familiar with Linder's face to be able to name that face by connecting the name on the poster with the person represented by the two drawings underneath. Audiences may not have been clamouring for the names of recognised performers, but they did iterate, to employers, the fact that they had recognised them, and the obvious course of action for his employer was to give that production value a designation by publicising the person's name in publicity targeted at the general public.

This publicity for *Le petit jeune homme* was the first component of a campaign in which Pathé consistently used Linder's identity as a production value. Known surviving evidence for the first eleven films in this campaign is summarised in Table 1. As the UK trade papers *Bioscope* and *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* (hereafter *K&LW*) were the recipients of the weekly bulletins that Pathé were issuing in the UK around this time, their use of Linder's name in their accounts of new films is likely to be a reflection that it was being consistently stated in these bulletins. In European markets where Pathé could release their films at a faster rate than they could in France, Linder's publicity campaign was particularly concentrated. In the UK, for example, in the 142 days starting on 4 August 1909, either 13 or 14 films were issued which featured Linder as lead performer, an average of one film every 10-11 days. As the writer of the synopsis for *Un mariage Américain* in *Bioscope* in early October 1909 remarked, finding her/himself reviewing the third film in five weeks for which Linder played the lead, "Mr Max Linder again!" (Anon. 7 Oct. 1909, 97)

There is also some evidence that, in addition to this printed publicity, Pathé decided to use the films themselves as methods for building Linder's celebrity, even before the end of 1909. *Avant et ... après*, released in parts of Europe outside France on 24 December 1909, and the eleventh film for which Pathé used his name for publicity in Europe, was released in the US (as

Before and After) on 11 February 1910, out of this order: in the US it was only the third film of Linder's new stint to be released after *Le petit jeune homme* (it was moved ahead of *La vengeance du bottier*, *Roméo se fait bandit*, *Le voleur mondain*, *À qui mon cœur?*, *Petite rosse*, *Les surprises de l'amour* and *Une conquête*; on this shuffling of release dates in the US see Table 2). In a review of *Avant et ... après* / *Before and After* in the 19 February 1910 issue of *Variety*, a reviewer remarked that

[i]f the man is important enough in this picture to be billed then he should be billed in all the Pathe [sic] pictures, for he is the principal in all their comedy subjects. He is very apt and a clever comedian ('Dash' 19 Feb 1910, 15).

Although there are several possible interpretations of what this reviewer meant by 'billed', it is most likely that s/he was referring to Linder's name appearing in title/intertitle footage: billing by the venue would not have been a matter for discussion by a film reviewer, for example. The conspicuousness of this billing for this reviewer suggests that in the three films from the period of Pathé's publicity campaign for Linder listed in Table 1 that were released in the US before *Avant et ... après* / *Before and After* (*Le petit jeune homme*, *Un mariage Américain* and *En bombe*), no title footage naming Linder was included, and therefore that Pathé's decision to include it occurred somewhere between the production of these films and the production of *Avant et ... après*: i.e. by mid-December 1909 at the latest.

Film title and date	Surviving evidence of public-oriented publicity	Surviving evidence of crediting to the trade
<i>Le petit jeune homme</i> [<i>The little young man</i>] UK title: <i>The Young Lady-Killer</i> Europe: Issued around 8-11 September 1909. France: Issued early/mid October 1909.	Poster naming Linder issued by Pathé Frères (Figure 1).	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> 2 September 1909 (see above), likely drawn from <i>Pathé Frères' Weekly Illustrated Bulletin and Supplement</i> (London). This applies to synopses printed in <i>Bioscope</i> and <i>K&LW</i> mentioned in subsequent rows.
<i>Une conquête</i> [<i>A conquest</i>] Europe: Issued around 29 September - 2 October 1909. France: Issued c. 22 October 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 219).	Linder named in the programme for the Cirque d'Hiver, Paris, for 22-28 October 1909 (Anon. 22-28 Oct. 1909, n.pag.), and in publicity at the Omnia Pathé, Paris, for the same period (Anon. 27 Oct. 1909, 4).	Linder named in synopses in <i>K&LW</i> and <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 23 Sept. 1909a, 993; Anon. 23 Sept. 1909b, 33).
<i>Un mariage Américain</i> [<i>An American marriage</i>] Europe: Issued around 13-16 October 1909. France: First shown 5 November 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 217).	Linder named in publicity at the Omnia Pathé for 5-11 November 1909 (Anon. 7 Nov. 1909, 4).	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 7 Oct. 1909, 97) (no synopsis for this film was included in <i>K&LW</i>).
<i>Les surprises de l'amour</i> [<i>The surprises of love</i>] UK title: <i>The Surprises of a Flirtation</i> Europe: Issued around 20-23 October 1909. France: Made c. October 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 218).		Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 21 Oct. 1909, 41).
<i>Petite rosse</i> [<i>Little cat/bitch</i>] UK title: <i>A Tantalising Young Lady</i> Europe: Issued around 10-13 November 1909. France: Featured on the programme for the Artistic Cinema in Paris for 3-9 December 1909 (Anon. 15 Oct. 2008, n.pag.). ²³	Poster naming Linder issued by Pathé Frères (see Figure 2).	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 4 Nov. 1909, 41).
<i>À qui mon cœur?</i> [<i>To whom my heart?</i>] UK title: <i>Who Will Win My Heart?</i> Europe: Released 16 November 1909.	Linder named in publicity at the Omnia Pathé for 10-16	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 11 Nov. 1909a, 45) (no synopsis for this film

France: First shown at the Omnia Pathé on 10 December 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 229).	December 1909 (Anon. 12 Dec. 1909, 4).	was included in <i>K&LW</i>) and in Pathé's trade advertisements in both <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 11 Nov. 1909b, 13) and <i>K&LW</i> : " <i>Who Will Win My Heart?</i> / Comic Piece played by M. Max Linder" (Anon. 11 Nov. 1909c, 15).
<i>Le voleur mondain</i> [<i>The worldly thief</i>] UK title: <i>The Gentleman Thief</i> Europe: Released 1 December 1909. France: Made c. December 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 233).		Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 25 Nov. 1909, 47) (no synopsis for this film was included in <i>K&LW</i>).
<i>Roméo se fait bandit</i> [<i>Romeo turns bandit</i>] UK title: <i>Romeo Turns Brigand</i> Europe: Released 4 December 1909. France: First shown at Omnia Pathé 17-23 December 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 225).	Linder named in publicity at the Omnia Pathé for 17-23 December 1909 (Anon. 22 Dec. 1909, 4).	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 25 Nov. 1909, 47) (no synopsis for this film was included in <i>K&LW</i>).
<i>En bombe</i> [<i>On a 'bender</i>] UK title: <i>A Student on the Spree</i> Europe: Released 8 December 1909. France: Featured on the programme for the Cirque d'Hiver on 31 December 1909 – 6 January 1910 (Renken, n.d.).		Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 2 Dec. 1909a, 49) (no synopsis for this film was included in <i>K&LW</i>) and in advertisement in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 2 Dec. 1909b, 13) and advertisement in <i>K&LW</i> : " A Student on the Spree / Comic Play by Max Linder" (Anon. 2 Dec. 1909c, 193).
<i>La vengeance du bottier</i> [<i>The bootmaker's revenge</i>] Europe: Released 18 December 1909. France: Featured on the programme for the Cirque d'Hiver for 28 January – 3 February 1910 (Bousquet 1993, 237).	Publicity stills naming Linder issued by Pathé Frères (see Figures 3a and 3b)	Linder named in synopses in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 9 Dec. 1909a, 39) and <i>K&LW</i> (Anon. 16 Dec. 1909a, 333), and in advertisement in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 9 Dec. 1909b, 13) and <i>K&LW</i> : " The Bootmaker's Revenge / Comic play by Max Linder" (Anon. 9 Dec. 1909c, 261).
<i>Avant et ... après</i> [<i>Before and ... after</i>] Europe: Released 24 December 1909. France: Featured on the programme for the Cirque d'Hiver for the period Friday 7 to Thursday 13 January 1910 (Anon. 7-13 Jan 1910, n.pag.).	Poster naming Linder issued by Pathé Frères (see Figure 4)	Linder named in synopsis in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 16 Dec. 1909b, 58) (no synopsis for this film was included in <i>K&LW</i>) and in advertisement in <i>Bioscope</i> (Anon. 16 Dec. 1909c, 13) and advertisement in <i>K&LW</i> : " BEFORE AND AFTER / Comic by Max Linder" (Anon. 16 Dec. 1909d, 319)

Table 1: Surviving evidence of publicity efforts comprising Pathé's campaign for Max Linder up to the end of 1909.



Figure 2: Poster for *Petite rosse* by Candido de Faria. Archives of the Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé © 1909 - Pathé frères. AFF-P-25.



Figure 3a & 3b: Two publicity production stills for *La Vengeance du bottier*. Note the text “de M. Max Linder” under the company logo. Archives of the Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé © 1909 - Pathé frères. PHO-P-1235 & PHO-P-1236.

AVANT ET APRÈS !

Scène Comique de M. MAX LINDER



INTERPRÈTES :

M. MAX LINDER du TH. des VARIÉTÉS

M^{ES} - MARGUERITE MONTAVON du TH. du GYMNASÉ

LÉONIE RICHARD du TH. ANTOINE



IMP. DES ÉTABL^S PATHÉ FRÈRES 14, RUE FAVART, PARIS

AFFICHES D'ART ROBERT & C^E PARIS

Figure 5: Poster for *Avant et après* by Adrien Barrère. As with *Le petit jeune homme*, Linder is billed as both author and performer. Archives of the Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé © 1909 - Pathé frères. AFF-P-403.

A notable detail in the poster for *Avant et ... après* (Figure 4) was the statement of a stage affiliation for Linder: his now defunct affiliation with the Variétés. This stage affiliation was also given alongside his name in the entry for *Une conquête* in the Cirque d'Hiver programme for 22-28 October 1909 (see Table 1). This might be taken to suggest that, when they initiated this publicity campaign for Linder, Pathé were not jettisoning the principle of maintaining anonymity for those performers who were not already famous because, in Linder's case, he was indeed already famous for his work on stage at the Variétés from 1906 to 1909. This, in turn, could be taken to suggest that the deadlock situation described above dissolved, and the film star system emerged, because of cross-over stars: people who, because of exceptional circumstances, did indeed leave one cultural realm, in spite of having established a degree of celebrity there, for permanent employment as a performer for films.²⁴ However, this explanation does not seem to apply in the case of Linder: his Variétés affiliation was of such small importance that it was mentioned in only a small minority in these surviving publicity efforts, and given the size of his role in *Le roi* it is unlikely that Pathé regarded Linder as having a significant degree of fame as a stage performer. Rather than capitalising on an existing reputation, this statement of an affiliation added lustre to Linder's image, lustre that venues were invited to borrow in their publicity: for example, in an early December 1909 advertisement for *Un mariage Américain/An American Marriage* one venue in Perth, Australia, erroneously gave Linder's affiliation as "of the New York Theatre of Varieties" (Anon. 6 Dec. 1909, 1). This now defunct affiliation was not the focus of the publicity campaign that Pathé began in September 1909.

While, as I will demonstrate below, there is also evidence to show that, in the US, IMP's publicity campaign for Florence Lawrence began significantly earlier than the late-March 1910 St Louis episode on which Richard deCordova focuses (indeed, even deCordova deduced from a letter to Lawrence from a Baltimore cinemagoer dated 16 February 1910 that by this date IMP had issued some publicity naming her, "probably through local papers or local exhibitors" [1990, 57]), this publicity campaign could not have predated Pathé's publicity campaign for Linder as Lawrence's first film for IMP, *Love's Stratagem* (only IMP's second film), was only released on 1 November 1909 (Anon. 30 Oct. 1909a, 615). Pathé's campaign for Linder, therefore, was definitely the earlier of the two campaigns, and, to the best of my knowledge, the first publicity campaign for a film-specific performer in the world.²⁵ Given that an employer-managed star system is an expression of an established and advanced cultural industry, the historical priority of Pathé substantiates Laurent Le Forestier's hypothesis that the industrial organisation of film production and marketing was first instituted in France (2006, 320-21), and demonstrates that Pathé's business practices were still ahead of those of their global competitors even in the Winter of 1909.

I do not, however, wish to establish Linder's temporal priority either for its own sake or merely for the sake of insisting on the importance of his native country or native continent in film history; rather, an accurate account of events can give us clues about historical causality, and there is a major revisionist story latent in such an account. Pathé's unprecedented publicity campaign using Linder's name as a production value can also be regarded, I will demonstrate, as one of the major causes for the emergence the star system in film in the US. In turn, this provides new ideas about the causes of the emergence of the film star system in general.

The formation, in the US, in December 1907, of the Film Service Association/Association of Edison Licensees (FSA-AEL) and, in December 1908, of the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC), whose rules came into effect on 1 January 1909, were attempts to use patent law to control the market for film exhibition in the US (the latter was the more successful because it included all of the major US patent holders). On receipt of a nominal fee the MPPC would issue licenses to a film rental company or a cinema, and amongst the terms of this license was the requirement that no film rental company or cinema holding a license would lease or show films made by any production company from outside the MPPC. Nominally, the MPPC

controlled the patents on all inventions needed to make a film camera, meaning that the only feasible option for a rental company hoping to work outside the MPPC, and by extension any cinema hoping to function without an MPPC license, was to use a supply of films made outside the jurisdiction of the MPPC's patents: i.e. Europe. And as some European production companies (Pathé, Gaumont, Eclipse and the Charles Urban Trading Company) were represented by the MPPC, they did not have the whole of the European film market to choose from. The first crop of 'independent' companies was, therefore, a mixture of American importers of European films and a handful of new American companies seeking to make films with cameras that were, purportedly, non-patent-infringing. While the overwhelming majority of the film renters in the US had obtained MPPC licenses when it was first formed, in mid-April 1909, Carl Laemmle, the manager of the Laemmle Film Service (LFS), the largest film rental service in the US (by the end of 1908 it had nine branches [Drinkwater 1931, 126, 61]), cancelled the LFS's license from the MPPC. This meant that he was now obliged to rely on European imports to make up the vast majority of the films on the programmes that he provided to cinemas, and this meant that, in turn, his client cinemas risked alienating American audiences with film subjects that did not correspond to their own cultural milieu. The need to increase his supply of films and the need to lessen his reliance on European films were the two impulses behind his formation of his new production company, IMP, in June 1909.²⁶

But Laemmle was also in another dilemma: the competition into which he entered when he cancelled the LFS's license with the MPPC was no open market: he had to persuade exhibition venues and exhibition companies that the risks they courted if they cancelled their MPPC license (the questionable legality, according to patent law, of the operations of the MPPC's competitor production companies, the likely scarcity and lower reliability of 'Independent' product, and the possibility of punitive consequences should they wish to re-join the MPPC after leaving) were outweighed by the benefits of the service that the LFS provided. So even though any company entering a market that is already populated would be under pressure to produce a product of superior quality to achieve more than the even share of the market that they could expect should they produce a product that is equivalent in quality to the products of the older companies, Laemmle was under much higher pressure to produce a superior quality product: he needed to make robust promises of superior quality to obtain any market share *whatsoever*. Of course, setting up his own production company promised to give him control over the production values that went into some of the films handled by the LFS, but production values such as genre could be duplicated by the other production companies, including the companies who were members of the MPPC. The preferable situation for Laemmle was that IMP use production values that no other company could obtain. Better still, IMP would give the LFS just the trump card it needed if they were to use an entire *classification* of production values that no other company could obtain.

What Laemmle did after he set up IMP is very revealing: he spent the summer of 1909 in Europe. In roughly 1927 Laemmle recalled that in 1909, after he made the decision to found IMP and commence production (so c. May 1909), he then gave himself enough time to open a New York office, obtain a camera, engage William Ranous as a producer/director, instruct Ranous to adapt Henry W. Longfellow's 1855 poem *The Song of Hiawatha*, put \$1,500 at Ranous's disposal, supervise his work on a scenario and plans for interior and exterior shooting, and once this was done he "made a trip to Europe during June, 1909, where I visited England, France and Germany for purposes of making a film survey of these countries", a trip from which, he recalled, he "returned four months later" (Laemmle 1927, 29). This tallies with the contemporary evidence. The 11 September 1909 issue of *Moving Picture World* (published on 4 September) stated that Laemmle was currently in Germany (i.e. his country of birth) (Anon. 11 Sept. 1909, 343). While he was away, Florence Lawrence was fired from American Biograph (an MPPC member company)²⁷ and, after a few months looking for work, was contacted by William Ranous, who engaged her as a performer for IMP on a contract that began around 2 September 1909.²⁸ On 19

October 1909 the name ‘Carl Laemmle’, aged 42 years and 9 months and resident in Chicago (and so definitely the Carl Laemmle of the LFS and IMP), featured on the list of passengers disembarking in New York from the *Kaiser Wilhelm II*, which had sailed from Southampton, on the south coast of the UK, on 13 October 1909 (Anon. 19 Oct. 1909).²⁹ The 30 October 1909 issue of *Moving Picture World*, published on 23 October 1909, also stated that Laemmle had just returned from a trip to Europe (Anon. 30 Oct. 1909b, 605). Laemmle was therefore definitely in Europe (at the very least he was definitely in the UK) during the exact period when Pathé began to build a celebrity profile for Max Linder around parts of Europe direct to the general public; he left shortly after the third film to which Linder’s name was publicly attached had appeared in UK cinemas and while the fourth was being announced in the UK trade press (see Table 1). As the stated purpose of Laemmle’s trip was to “make a film survey” of these countries, to glean advice about business and publicity methods from film production companies working beyond the MPPC’s sphere of influence,³⁰ it is reasonable to assume that Laemmle would have been exposed not just to the appearance of Linder’s name in the European trade press but also to discussions amongst senior trade figures, and just as reasonable to assume that these would have included discussions about Pathé’s publicity campaign for Linder. That is, while he was in Europe, Laemmle was probably exposed to an example of how to obtain the entire *classification* of production value unused by his competitors that he was being pressed, by his circumstances, to find.

There is evidence to suggest, therefore, that when he was in Europe Laemmle found that it was actually feasible to turn an anonymous performer into a celebrity by building a profile for that performer from scratch, particularly if there were signs that audiences were capable of recognising that person from one film to the next, and indeed that when a performer had established a degree of recognisability the benefits of capitalising on that recognisability outweighed – in the eyes of the learned senior company Pathé Frères – the potential risks. Even if Laemmle, when he returned from this business trip, did not deem Lawrence to have established the same recognisability in America as established in Europe by Linder, Lawrence herself had seen evidence of her recognisability in the form of letters addressed to her when she worked at Biograph dating from as early as December 1908,³¹ evidence that she would have been able to communicate to him when they met after his return, while the nickname ‘The Biograph Girl’ had also been applied to Lawrence in the trade press³² (of which Laemmle definitely had some knowledge, given that this nickname was later mentioned in his publicity campaign for her; see, for example, Anon. 12 Mar. 1910, 365), which also provided him with evidence that she had been recognised by at least some viewers.



Figure 5a: Front side of a postcard sent from the Shell Theatre in Los Angeles to “Miss Florence Lawrence” care of Carl Laemmle, 111 East-14th Street, New York, and postmarked on the reverse either 25 or 29 January 1910. Florence Lawrence Papers, Margaret Herrick Library, Los Angeles, VF211. Courtesy of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences.



Figure 5b: Detail.

A further piece of evidence to confirm the hypothesis that this trip to Europe influenced Laemmle's decision to launch a publicity campaign for Florence Lawrence is that it explains the brief but nonetheless curious delay between Lawrence's starting work for IMP and the beginning of this publicity campaign. IMP's trade publicity for *Love's Stratagem*, Lawrence's first IMP film, did not use her identity (Anon. 30 Oct. 1909a, 615): because advertising for this needed to be ready a few days before the 23 October 1909 publication date of the 30 October 1909 issue of *Moving Picture World* in which this film was advertised, it would have been arranged shortly before Laemmle returned from Europe. Her second and third films for IMP (*The Forest Ranger's Daughter* and *Her Own Way*) were also advertised in the trade press without any mention of her identity (Anon. 13 Nov. 1909, 701; Anon. 27 Nov. 1909b, 748). Only after enough time had elapsed for Laemmle to, on top of his other duties, investigate the degree of Lawrence's existing recognisability and arrange a photography session to produce some publicity material did he launch IMP's publicity campaign for her. It was therefore only with her fourth film, *Lest We Forget* (due to be released on 20 December 1909), that IMP began to include mentions of her identity in their *Moving Picture World* advertisements: their advertisement in the 18 December issue (printed on 11 December) included a close-up photograph of Lawrence's face accompanied by the declaration "She's an Imp!" (Anon. 18 Dec. 1909b, 866). Although this advertisement did not put a name to this face, enough characteristics ("she", the assertion of an affiliation, the implication that this affiliation had changed, and the photograph) were provided to – for those who did not know Lawrence from her days in Biograph's films – generate the rudiments of an identity, and – for those who did – make it possible to recognise her from them. In addition, a poster naming Lawrence, visible in a photograph of a venue in Los Angeles (see Figure 5) that was taken between 24 and 29 January 1910,³³ indicates that IMP were indeed naming Lawrence in publicity purposed for use with the general public by a point around the last days of December 1909 and the first days of January 1910 at the latest. Indeed, as the second photograph in the row of seven photographs used on this poster is the exact photograph used in the 18 December issue of *Moving Picture World*, it seems that a photography session in which these photographs were taken took place in the first few days of December at the latest, indicating that somewhere between the last few days of October 1909 and the first few days of December 1909 Laemmle applied what he had learned in Europe and decided to launch a publicity campaign purposed to build celebrity for Lawrence. One instance of this celebrity-building is the text accompanying the photographs in the poster shown in Figure 5: above each photograph is stated the name of the emotion conveyed in the pose: "HILARITY PIETY CONCENTRATION HORROR DETERMINATION MIRTH SADNESS", and underneath is the announcement that "AMERICA'S FOREMOST MOVING PICTURE ACTRESS APPEARS IN "IMP" FILMS". Presumably these posters were being delivered, for free and with the consent of the rental companies, to Independent cinemas across the US and Canada alongside IMP's films. Given that this publicity campaign predates the earliest known publicity campaign for a performer from an American MPPC company (the Florence Turner campaign mentioned above) by nearly three months, it is reasonable to assume that the Florence Lawrence publicity campaign was indeed one of the provocations for the ensuing set of publicity campaigns from the rest of the American MPPC companies, including Vitagraph in April 1910 (see above), Kalem (on Gene Gauntier) in May 1910 (Anon. 7 May 1910, 3), and Biograph, who, also in May 1910, began to name Mary Pickford, under the pseudonym Dorothy Nicholson, in their publicity to the trade in the UK and the British Empire.³⁴

While Laemmle would certainly have suspected that Pathé's campaign for Linder would ultimately begin in the United States, he would also almost certainly, given his lengthy experience of film rentals, have been aware that there would be a significant delay before this occurred. Because the formation of the FSA-AEL and then the MPPC had limited the amount of negative footage that members could put on the market to a maximum of 4,000 feet a week³⁵ (a condition

which served the domestic producers' shared intention to reduce Pathé's market share [see also Abel 1995, 194]), Pathé's films were backlogged in America even more than they were in France (see Table 2). For example, the film that was due to be released in the US on 28 March 1910 when *Moving Picture World* first gave Linder's name, *Petite rosse/The Little Vixen*, had been released in the UK (as *A Tantalising Young Lady*) around 10-13 November 1909 (Anon. 4 Nov. 1909, 41): that is, there was a delay of 135-138 days between the issue of this film in parts of Europe outside France and its release in the US. (Though this delay varied, the average delay for all of the films in Table 2 where issue/release dates are available (using the smallest delay when issue dates are estimates) was 114 days.) An awareness of the backlog on Pathé's imports to the US would have enabled Laemmle to anticipate that he had a brief window of time before Pathé's campaign for Linder would commence in the US. In this sense the decision to use Florence Lawrence as a production value, a decision made either during or shortly after his trip to Europe, could be regarded as an attempt to steal a march on Pathé, a particularly desirable objective given that, in the US, Pathé were members of the MPPC and so would soon be adding Linder as a production value to the armoury of Laemmle's direct competition.

Original French title and issue/release date	UK title and issue/release date (i.e. Europe-wide issue/release date; from <i>K&LW</i>)	US title and release date (from <i>Moving Picture World</i>)	Days between European and US issue/ release dates
1. <i>Aimé par sa bonne</i> Issued c. 20 August 1909.	1. <i>Loved by His Servant</i> Issued around 4-7 August 1909.	1. <i>The Servant's Good Joke</i> Released 25 September 1909.	49-52
2. <i>La barbe de Théodore</i> Announced in 23 August 1909 issue of <i>Kinéma</i> (Anon. 23 Aug. 1909, 9). ³⁶	2. <i>Theodore's Beard</i> Issued around 11-14 August 1909.	2. <i>Sam's Artistic Beard</i> Released 13 November 1909.	91-94
3. <i>Amoureux de la femme à barbe</i> Probably announced in the 20 September 1909 issue of <i>Kinéma</i> ; ³⁷ showing at the Pathé Grolée in Lyon on 24 September 1909 (Bousquet 1993, 208).	3. <i>In Love with the Bearded Woman</i> Issued around 1-4 September 1909.	unknown/not released	-
4. <i>Le petit jeune homme</i> Issued early/mid October 1909.	4. <i>A Young Lady-Killer</i> Issued around 8-11 September 1909.	3. <i>Willyboy Gets His</i> Released 11 December 1909.	91-94
5. <i>Une conquête</i> Issued c. 22 October 1909.	5. <i>A Conquest</i> Issued around 29 September - 2 October 1909.	9. <i>A Conquest</i> Released 26 March 1910.	175-178
6. <i>Un mariage Américain</i> Issued c. 5 November 1909.	6. <i>An American Marriage</i> Issued around 13-16 October 1909.	4. <i>Miss Moneybags Wishes to Wed</i> Released 10 January 1910.	86-89
7. <i>Les surprises de l'amour</i> Made c. October 1909.	7. <i>The Surprises of a Flirtation</i> Issued around 20-23 October 1909.	8. <i>Sporty Dad</i> Released 12 March 1910.	140-143
8. <i>Petite rosse</i> Released c. 3 December 1909.	8. <i>A Tantalising Young Lady</i> Issued around 10-13 November 1909.	10. <i>The Little Vixen</i> Released 28 March 1910.	135-138
9. <i>À qui mon cœur?</i> Released c. 10 December 1909.	9. <i>Who Will Win My Heart?</i> Released 16 November 1909.	12. <i>Who Will Win My Heart?</i> Released 18 May 1910.	183
10. <i>Le voleur mondain</i> Made c. December 1909.	10. <i>The Gentleman Thief</i> Released 1 December 1909.	14. <i>Max Leads Them A Novel Chase</i> Released 25 May 1910.	175
11. <i>Roméo se fait bandit</i> Released c. 17 December 1909.	11. <i>Romeo Turns Brigand</i> Released 4 December 1909.	13. <i>Romeo Turns Bandit</i> Released 23 May 1910.	170
12. <i>En bombe</i> Released c. 14 January 1910.	12. <i>A Student on the Spree</i> Released 8 December 1909.	5. <i>On A Racket</i> Released 15 January 1910.	38
13. <i>La vengeance du bottier</i>	13. <i>The Bootmaker's Revenge</i>	22. <i>One on Max</i>	303

Released c. 28 January 1910.	Released 18 December 1909.	Released 17 October 1910.	
14. <i>Avant et ... après</i> Released c. 7 January 1910.	14. <i>Before and After</i> Released 24 December 1909.	6. <i>Before and After</i> Released 11 February 1910.	49
15. <i>Les exploits du jeune Tartarin</i> Featured on the programme for the Omnia Pathé from 11-17 February 1910 (Anon. 15 Feb. 1910, 4).	15. <i>The Adventures of Tartarin, the Younger</i> Released 19 January 1910.	unknown/not released	-
16. <i>La timidité guérie par le serum</i> Made c. January 1910 (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	16. <i>The Cure of Cowardice</i> Released 2 February 1910.	7. <i>A Cure for Timidity</i> Released 11 March 1910.	37
17. <i>Une bonne pour monsieur, un domestique pour madame</i> Featured on the programme at the Omnia Pathé for 11-17 March 1910 (Anon. 15 Mar. 1910, 4).	17. <i>Servants and Masters</i> Released 9 February 1910.	unknown/not released	-
18. <i>Jeune fille romanesque</i> Featured on the programme at the Omnia Pathé for 18-24 March 1910 (Anon. 24 Mar. 1910, 4).	18. <i>A Romantic Young Lady</i> Released 16 February 1910.	11. <i>A Romantic Girl</i> Released 6 May 1910.	79
19. <i>Le pacte</i> Made c. February 1910 (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	19. <i>The Pact</i> Released 5 March 1910.	21. <i>Max in a Dilemma</i> Released 23 September 1910.	202
20. <i>Je voudrais un enfant</i> Released c. 8 April 1910 (Anon. 10 Apr. 1910, 4).	unknown/not released	unknown/not released	-
21. <i>Soldat par amour</i> Released c. 15 April 1910 (Anon. 16 Apr. 1910, 4).	unknown/not released	unknown/not released	-
22. <i>Le serment d'un Prince</i> Released c. 22 April 1910 (Anon. 23 Apr. 1910b, 4).	20. <i>A Prince's Word of Honour</i> Released 26 March 1910.	15. <i>A Prince of Worth</i> Released 27 May 1910.	62
23. <i>Mauvaise vue</i> Made c. March 1910 (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	21. <i>A Double Sight</i> Released 30 March 1910.	16. <i>One can't believe one's eyes</i> Released 1 June 1910.	63
24. <i>Une ruse de mari</i> Made c. April 1910 (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	22. <i>Hubby Cures His Wife of Flirting</i> Released 9 April 1910.	unknown/not released	-
25. <i>Une représentation au cinema</i> Made c. April 1910 (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	23. <i>At The Cinematograph Theatre</i> Released 13 April 1910	unknown/not released	-
26. <i>L'ingénieux attentat</i> Listed in 14 May 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (24).	24. <i>Poor Pa Pays Again</i> Released 23 April 1910.	17. <i>Max Makes a Touch</i> Released 17 June 1910.	55
27. <i>Tout est bien qui finit bien</i> Listed in 21 May 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (24). First shown 27 June 1910 at the Cirque d'Hiver, Paris (Bousquet 1994, n.pag.).	25. <i>All's Well that Ends Well</i> Released 27 April 1910.	18. <i>Perseverance Rewarded</i> Released 22 June 1910.	56
28. <i>Kyrelor, bandit par amour</i> Listed in 28 May 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (28 May 1910a, 28).	26. <i>Baffles, Bandit</i> Released 4 May 1910.	19. <i>Max Foils the Police</i> Released 2 July 1910.	59
29. <i>Amour et fromage</i> Listed in 11 June 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (26).	unknown/not released	26. <i>Love and Cheese</i> Released 10 July 1911.	-
30. <i>Une épreuve difficile</i> Listed in 18 June 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (30).	27. <i>A Difficult Task</i> Released 25 May 1910.	23. <i>Max in The Alps</i> Released 28 October 1910.	156

31. <i>Le duel de Monsieur Myope</i> Listed in the 25 June 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (26).	28. <i>A Short-Sighted Duellist</i> Released 1 June 1910.	24. <i>Max Has Trouble with His Eyes</i> Released 31 October 1910.	152
32. <i>Le revolver arrange tout</i> Listed in the 2 July 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (26). First shown 8 July 1910 at the Omnia Pathé, Paris (Bousquet, 1994, n.pag.).	29. <i>The Persuasive Powers of a Revolver</i> Released 8 June 1910.	20. <i>Max Has to Change</i> Released 15 August 1910.	68
33. <i>Max fait du ski</i> Listed in 9 July 1910 issue of <i>Ciné-Journal</i> (26).	30. <i>Max Tries Ski-ing</i> Released 18 June 1910.	25. <i>Max Goes Ski-ing</i> Released 21 December 1910.	186

Table 2: The backlogging and shuffling of Linder's films when released in the United States, from *Aimé par sa bonne* until the first film with 'Max' in the original title. See Table 1 for references not given here.

To turn back to Pathé's own publicity campaign for Linder, it is possible that Pathé were naming Linder, either in the American version of the Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin or on the posters that they distributed in the US, from as early as *Le petit jeune homme/Willyboy Gets His*, released in the US on 11 December 1909. This publicity definitely predated *Petite rosse/The Little Vixen*, the film mentioned in connection with his name in the 26 March 1910 issue of *Moving Picture World*, and the eighth film featuring him released in the US after *Aimé par sa bonne*: ongoing projects to digitise American newspapers have revealed mentions of Linder's name in local newspaper advertising and reviews of local film shows from 21 February 1910, in connection with *Avant et ... après/Before and After*, the fifth film featuring him released in the US after *Aimé par sa bonne* (Anon. 21 Feb. 1910, 6. Anon. 6 Mar. 1910, 8). That is, *Moving Picture World's* statement in connection with *Petite rosse/The Little Vixen*, instead of a communication of a new divulgence by the company, was a comment by the magazine's staff on the prominence of a campaign already being conducted by Pathé, probably in the form of posters given or sold to renters and cinemas, directly to the general public in the US.

The momentum of Pathé's publicity campaign for Linder is also suggested by a very revealing detail in Table 2. The last row in this list shows that June and July 1910 saw the release, in Europe, of the first of a spate of films which signalled the next step in Pathé's work of constructing Linder's stardom: their choice to include the name of Linder's now regularly appearing character in the titles of his films, and to give this character the same first name as his performer (although the character had borne the name 'Max' in intertitles in some films before this date). Even though their publicity campaign for Linder was initially attached to specific films (hence the delay between the beginning of this campaign in Europe and its beginning in the US), in mid-May 1910 Pathé's publicists seem to have sought to overcome this delay by changing the titles of films that had already been released in Europe before *Max fait du ski* but which were still awaiting their release in the US, starting with the US release of *Le voleur mondain (Max Leads them a Novel Chase)* on 25 May 1910.³⁸ In all, out of eleven films from this point onwards that could be 'Maxed' for their US release, eight were given this treatment, including all of the last six films from Linder's filmography before *Max fait du ski*. This later 'Maxing' dovetailed with the more elaborate publicity measures that Pathé's American publicists were taking in the US for Linder, including announcements in December 1910 about his appendectomy that sought to boost his popularity by implying that he might not appear in films again and then providing reassurances that he would.³⁹ This campaign was certainly being effective. The *New York Dramatic Mirror's* reviewer first included Linder's name in their review of *A Romantic Girl* in the 14 May 1910 issue and continued to mention his name in their review for every film in Table 2 that was released before the end of 1910 (though in the case of *Max Makes a Touch* and *Max in the Alps* his surname was omitted, probably because it was not even deemed necessary, by this point, to give it).

The above account suggests that we should recognise the importance of historical accident in the immediate causality of the emergence of the star system. If Linder had not been absent from Pathé's films during late 1908 and the first seven months of 1909, the fact of his being recognised from his previous films by viewers of *Aimé par sa bonne* would not have presented the executives at Pathé with compelling evidence of his recognisability. If Laemmle was indeed copying Pathé's publicity campaign for Linder when he launched his publicity campaign for Florence Lawrence, he did so in an attempt to reassert a free market for film rental in the US, which he would not have been motivated to do had the MPPC not sought to monopolise US film rental absolutely. Likewise, had the MPPC not been formed with the intent of making it impossible for non-members to make films in the US, those refusing to purchase a license would not have been so dependent on a supply of films from Europe, and Laemmle would not have been motivated to visit "England, France and Germany for purposes of making a film survey of these countries". Without Laemmle's publicity campaign for Florence Lawrence, Pathé's own publicity campaign for Linder in the US would, of course, have asserted the feasibility of this new form of production value to the American film industry. And the fact that the MPPC and 'Independent' production companies alike were conducting a moral panic around 'decadent' European culture (see Abel 1999, 94-101, 118-126) at the time, in part to try to reduce Pathé's market share, suggests that they would have perceived Pathé's campaign for Linder as another such threat and combated it in the same way they were combating Pathé's imports: by introducing their own 'home-grown' equivalents. While Abel implies that Linder's recognisability could not have posed a threat to the 'native' companies because his foreignness made him less preferable to North American audiences than American and Canadian stars (Abel 1999, 150), his own thesis equally supports the hypothesis that the arrival of Linder's publicity campaign in the US was what provoked the 'native' companies to begin to publicise the identities of their American and Canadian employees in the first place. Interpreted this way, Pathé's publicity campaign for Max Linder was just as significant an influence on the widespread adoption of the film star system in the US as the provocation provided to the MPPC companies by IMP's campaign for Florence Lawrence. In two ways, therefore, Pathé's campaign for Linder stands in the position of the force occasioning the emergence of film stardom in the US. That this grand picture has hitherto been rendered opaque at best is, of course, partly the result of what Vincendeau calls "the American bias of film historiography" (2000, 49), but it is also the result of historical accident, including lost sources and the muddle of data provided by the two different types of delay encountered by Linder's films in France and the US.

Conclusion

Though Richard deCordova's argument has provided film historians with an orthodoxy about the causes of the emergence of the star system in the US and, by extension, the world for over twenty years now,⁴⁰ attempts have recently have been made to question his assumptions. For example, Chris O'Rourke has recently explained that, in English, the common use of the term 'pose' to describe film performance before 1907 is not evidence that a photographic discourse of the act of 'being filmed' prevented contemporaries from regarding 'being filmed' as a kind of performance, because the term 'posing' was already commonly used to refer to the performance techniques used by those working as artist's or photographer's life models: the latter profession in particular, a profession that dated from the 1870s, provided a template for understanding the nature of the work involved in being filmed, "combining, as it did, notions of the indexical with an ability to produce fictions" (2011, 193, 196).⁴¹ If the term 'pose' did not reflect an understanding of film work that was incompatible with ideas of performance, then its use up to 1907 and even beyond is not evidence of discursive barriers to the emergence of a system of celebrity amongst film performers. Even in work published at the same time as deCordova's *Picture Personalities*, Eileen Bowser suspected that, before 1909, it was not the state of discourse on film that prevented the emergence of a film star system in the US, but more prosaic

factors, including the short-term nature of work performing for film companies, which meant that it was not feasible for employers to even imagine long-term investments in building celebrity for their employees, and the low probability of viewers being able to recognise a performer from film to film when average shot distance was about twelve feet (1990, 106, 110, 94).

My above account adds to our reasons to doubt deCordova's insistence that a shift in discourse was the main cause of the emergence of the star system. Though it may have been a necessary precondition, the train of events described above indicate that it was not a precipitating cause. Instead, economic imperatives provided the motives in what was still a situation where all the agents concerned had some choice. Indeed, the prominence of first France and then the US in the spread of the new practice of conducting publicity campaigns for film-only performers can be related to the fact that, by mid-1909, Pathé, with its rental companies and chain of cinemas, and all of the US film industry, where every production company, rental company and cinema was associated with one of the two rival factions, constituted exceptions to the wider norm in the film industries of the developed world, a norm in which production companies had little concern for the financial performance of their films after they sold them outright to rental companies, a norm which gave production companies very little motive to try to enhance this performance through building public profiles for their performer employees. In the UK, for example, where this system of outright sales to rental companies remained the norm well into the 1910s, there were no flutterings of a native star system until mid-1911, and these were propelled, in part, by the rash of star publicity campaigns being conducted in the UK at this point by film companies from continental Europe and the US.⁴² That exceptional circumstances led to the emergence of the star system indicates that it was the conditions of the trade in films, rather than discursive impediments, that had prevented one from emerging before late 1909.

Acknowledgments

Georg Renken's impeccably researched maxlinder.de provided some invaluable preliminary data for this article; Georg's passion for dates and details is exemplary. Thanks also to Séverine Montigny for sending me photographs of the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris's Cirque d'Hiver programmes.

Note on Contributor

Andrew Shail is Senior Lecture in Film at Newcastle University and Co-Editor of *Early Popular Visual Culture*. His publications include *The Cinema and the Origins of Literary Modernism* (2012) and the edited collection/anthology *Reading the Cinematograph: The Cinema in British Short Fiction 1896-1912* (2011). He is currently working on a book entitled *The Emergence of Film Stardom in Europe & North America*.

References

- Abel, Richard. 1993. 'In the belly of the beast: the early years of Pathé-Frères.' *Film History* 5: 363-385.
- Abel, Richard. 1994. *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema 1896-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Abel, Richard. 1995. 'The Perils of Pathé, or the Americanization of Early American Cinema.' In *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*, edited by Leon Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, 183-223. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Abel, Richard. 1999. *The Red Rooster Scare: Making Cinema American, 1900-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Anon. c. Dec. 1906. *Films Pathé Frères: ce catalogue annule les précédents*. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-686.
- Anon. 24 Apr. 1908. 'Les Grands Théâtres.' *Comœdia* 207: 6.

- Anon. 6 July 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 36. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-428.
- Anon. 13 July 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 37. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-430.
- Anon. 27 July 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 39. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-431.
- Anon. 3 Aug. 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 40. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-432.
- Anon. 10 Aug. 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 41. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-433.
- Anon. 17 Aug. 1908. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 42. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-434.
- Anon. 26 Sept. 1908. *Pathé Frères: die films gelangen zum versand am Sonnabend, den 26. September 1908*. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. Catalogues.
- Anon. 10 Oct. 1908. 'Stories of the Films' & 'Latest Films of All Makers.' *Moving Picture World* 15 (3): 285-289.
- Anon. 17 Oct. 1908. 'Reviews of New Films.' *New York Dramatic Mirror* 60 (1556): 11.
- Anon. 2 Jan. 1909. 'The Kalem Stock Company.' *New York Dramatic Mirror* 51 (1567): 8.
- Anon. 2 Feb. 1909. "'Comœdia" à Bordeaux.' *Comœdia* 491: 5.
- Anon. 20 Mar. 1909. 'Comments on Film Subjects.' *Moving Picture World* 4 (12): 336-339.
- Anon. 27 Mar. 1909. *Moving Picture World* 4 (13): 367-369.
- Anon. 17 Apr. 1909. 'Comments on Film Subjects.' *Moving Picture World* 4 (16): 476-478.
- Anon. 24 Apr. 1909. 'Notable Films of the Week.' *Moving Picture World* 4 (17): 515.
- Anon. 5 June 1909. 'Les Grands Théâtres.' *Comœdia* 614: 6.
- Anon. 7-13 June 1909. 'Importante declaration de M. Pathe.' *Kinéma* B (16): 4.
- Anon. 12 June 1909. 'Observations by Our Man About Town.' *Moving Picture World* 4 (24): 790.
- Anon. 3 July 1909. Advertisement for IMP. *Moving Picture World* 5 (1): 22.
- Anon. 29 July 1909a. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 146: 19-29.
- Anon. 29 July 1909b. 'New Films and their Makers.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 5 (116): 587-90.
- Anon. 7 Aug. 1909. Advertisement. *Kinematoscope Zeitung*. n.pag.
- Anon. 12 Aug. 1909. 'Latest Productions.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 5 (118): 690.
- Anon. 16 Aug. 1909. 'Les nouveaux films.' *Kinéma* 26: 9.
- Anon. 23 Aug. 1909. 'Les nouveaux films.' *Kinéma* 27: 9.
- Anon. 2 Sept. 1909. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 151: 19-25.
- Anon. 4 Sept. 1909. Advertisement for Edison films. *Moving Picture World* 5 (10): 322.
- Anon. 6 Sept. 1909. 'Les nouveaux films.' *Kinéma* 29: 9.
- Anon. 11 Sept. 1909. 'Maurice Fleckles.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (11), 343.
- Anon. 23 Sept. 1909a. 'New Films and Their Makers.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 5 (124): 989-97.
- Anon. 23 Sept. 1909b. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 154: 29-33.
- Anon. 25 Sept. 1909. 'Stories of the Films.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (13): 421-9.
- Anon. 7 Oct. 1909. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 156: 92-7.
- Anon. 9 Oct. 1909a. 'Licensed Film Reviews.' *New York Dramatic Mirror* 62 (1607): 16-17.
- Anon. 9 Oct. 1909b. 'Comments on the Films.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (15), 489-94.
- Anon. 16 Oct. 1909. 'Has Star Actress.' *Variety* 16 (6): 13.
- Anon. 19 Oct. 1909. Ship Manifest, First Class or Saloon Passengers, Kaiser Wilhelm II. *Statue of Liberty - Ellis Island Foundation*. Accessed 14 May 2014. < <http://www.ellisland.org/> >.
- Anon. 21 Oct. 1909. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 158: 37-43.
- Anon. 27 Oct. 1909. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 758: 4.

- Anon. 22-28 Oct. 1909. Programme for the Cirque d'Hiver, Paris. Département des Documents éphémères. Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris.
- Anon. 30 Oct. 1909a. Advertisement for IMP/*Love's Stratagem*. *Moving Picture World* 5 (18): 615.
- Anon. 30 Oct. 1909b. 'Carl Laemmle Returns from Europe and Enthuses Over 'Imp' Films.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (18): 605.
- Anon. 4 Nov. 1909. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 160: 37-45.
- Anon. 7 Nov. 1909. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 769: 4.
- Anon. 11 Nov. 1909a. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 161: 37-45.
- Anon. 11 Nov. 1909b. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Bioscope* 161: 13.
- Anon. 11 Nov. 1909c. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (131): 15.
- Anon. 13 Nov. 1909. Advertisement for IMP/*The Forest Ranger's Daughter*/*The Brave Policeman*. *Moving Picture World* 5 (20): 701.
- Anon. 18 Nov. 1909. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (132): 65.
- Anon. 25 Nov. 1909. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 163: 41-49.
- Anon. 27 Nov. 1909a. 'An Interview With Carl Laemmle.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (22): 764.
- Anon. 27 Nov. 1909b. Advertisement for IMP/*Her Own Way*. *Moving Picture World* 5 (22): 748.
- Anon. 29 Nov. 1909. *Pathé Frères Weekly Bulletin* (New York) 109. Margaret Herrick Library. Los Angeles. P-L PAT.01.02.
- Anon. 2 Dec. 1909a. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 164: 41-50.
- Anon. 2 Dec. 1909b. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Bioscope* 164: 12-13.
- Anon. 2 Dec. 1909c. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (134): 193.
- Anon. 6 Dec. 1909. Advertisement for The King's Picture Gardens, Perth. *The West Australian* 7393: 1.
- Anon. 9 Dec. 1909a. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 165: 37-48.
- Anon. 9 Dec. 1909b. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Bioscope* 165: 12-13.
- Anon. 9 Dec. 1909c. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (135): 261.
- Anon. 12 Dec. 1909. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 804: 4.
- Anon. 16 Dec. 1909a. 'New Films and Their Makers.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (136): 333-340.
- Anon. 16 Dec. 1909b. 'The Very Latest.' *Bioscope* 166: 47-58.
- Anon. 16 Dec. 1909c. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Bioscope* 166: 12-13.
- Anon. 16 Dec. 1909d. Advertisement for Pathé Frères, London. *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 6 (136): 319.
- Anon. 18 Dec. 1909a. 'Kinemacolor.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (25): 873-4.
- Anon. 18 Dec. 1909b. Advertisement for IMP/*Lest We Forget*. *Moving Picture World* 5 (25): 866.
- Anon. 22 Dec. 1909. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 814: 4.
- Anon. 7-13 Jan. 1910. Programme for the Cirque d'Hiver. Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé. Paris. PRO-P-131.
- Anon. 15 Feb. 1910. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 869: 4.
- Anon. 21 Feb. 1910. Advertisement for The Majestic. *Belvidere Daily Republican* (Belvidere, Illinois) 18 (34): 6.
- Anon. 6 Mar. 1910. 'Amusements.' *The Leavenworth Times* (Leavenworth, Kansas), 8.
- Anon. 12 Mar. 1910. Advertisement for IMP. *Moving Picture World* 6 (10): 365.

- Anon. 15 Mar. 1910. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 897: 4.
- Anon. 24 Mar. 1910. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 906: 4.
- Anon. 26 Mar. 1910. 'Pathe Notes.' *Moving Picture World* 6 (12): 469-71.
- Anon. 2 Apr. 1910. 'Licensed Releases.' *Moving Picture World* 6 (13): 530.
- Anon. 10 Apr. 1910. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 923: 4.
- Anon. 11 Apr. 1910. 'Gossip of the Stage.' *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 71 (10): 19.
- Anon. 16 Apr. 1910. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 929: 4.
- Anon. 23 Apr. 1910a. 'Vitagraph Girl Feted.' *Moving Picture World* 6 (16): 644.
- Anon. 23 Apr. 1910b. 'Music-Halls / Cafés-Concerts / Cabarets Artistiques et Cirques.' *Comœdia* 936: 4.
- Anon. 7 May 1910. 'The Kalem Girl.' *Film Index* 5 (18): 3.
- Anon. 12 May 1910. 'New Films and Their Makers.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 7 (157): 51-61.
- Anon. 14 May 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 90: 23-4.
- Anon. 21 May 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 91: 23-4.
- Anon. 28 May 1910a. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 92: 27-8.
- Anon. 28 May 1910b. 'Licensed Releases.' *Moving Picture World* 6 (21), 902.
- Anon. 11 June 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 94: 25-6.
- Anon. 18 June 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 95: 29-30.
- Anon. 25 June 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 96: 25-26.
- Anon. 2 July 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 97: 25-26.
- Anon. 9 July 1910. 'Nouveautés Cinématographiques.' *Ciné-Journal* 98: 25-26.
- Anon. 30 July 1910. 'The Popular Max Linder.' *New York Dramatic Mirror* 64 (1649): 26.
- Anon. 17 Dec. 1910. 'Max has Appendicitis.' *The Film Index* 6 (25): 3.
- Anon. 31 Dec. 1910. 'Max Sends Compliments.' *The Film Index* 6 (27), 2.
- Anon. 1910-11. *Cahier de le S.C.A.G.L. 1910-1911. Documents divers concernant la société Pathé.* Collection Jaune. Cinémathèque française. Paris. CJ1676-B216.
- Anon. 13 Apr. 1911. 'Weekly Notes.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 8 (205): 1553-1557.
- Anon. 27 Apr. 1911. 'An English Picture Actress.' *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* 8 (207): 1775.
- Anon. 21 Dec. 1911. Letter from Nordisk Films Copenhagen to Nordisk Films London.
Nordisk Archive. Danish Film Institute. Copenhagen.
- Anon. 15 Oct. 2008. 'Petite rosse – Camille de Morlhon – 1909.' *Fondation Jérôme Seydoux-Pathé*. Accessed 14 Apr. 2015. <<http://filmographie.fondation-jeromeseydoux-pathe.com/3405-petite-rosse>>.
- Anon. 'Pourquoi l'Institut Max Linder?' 2011. *Institut Max Linder*. Accessed 7 May 2014. <<http://www.institut-max-linder.com/index.html>>.
- Bousquet, Henri. 1993. *Catalogue Pathé, des années 1896 à 1914: 1907, 1908, 1909*. Privately published.
- Bousquet, Henri. 1994. *Catalogue Pathé, des années 1896 à 1914: 1910-1911*. Privately published.
- Bowser, Eileen. 1990. *The Transformation of Cinema 1907-1915*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brown, Kelly. 1999. *Florence Lawrence, the Biograph Girl: America's First Movie Star*. Jefferson, North Carolina: MacFarland.
- Butler, Jeremy G. 1998. 'The star system and Hollywood.' In *The Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, edited by John Hill and Pamela Church-Gibson, 342-53. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 'Dash'. 19 Feb. 1910. 'Before and After.' *Variety* 17 (11): 15.
- de Caillavet, G. A., Robert de Flers and Emmanuel Arène. 1908. *Le roi*. Paris: Librairie Théâtrale.

- deCordova, Richard. 1990. *Picture Personalities: The Emergence of the Star System in America*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Drinkwater, John. 1931. *The Life and Adventures of Carl Laemmle*. London: Heinemann.
- Dubois, Georges. 1 July 1908. 'Escrime.' *Le Culture physique* 84: 1184-5.
- Guy, George S. Feb. 1911. 'In a Biograph Theatre: Humour, Pathos and Sensation on the Film.' *Strand* 41 (242): 156-161.
- Hepworth, Cecil. 1951. *Came the Dawn: Memories of a Film Pioneer*. London: Phoenix House.
- Kelley, Maybelle. 11 Dec. 1908. Letter to American Mutoscope & Biograph. Florence Lawrence Collection. Margaret Herrick Library. Correspondence: VF.211
- Kindem, Gorham. 1982. 'Hollywood's Movie Star System: A Historical Overview.' In *The American Movie Industry: The Business of Moving Pictures*, edited by Gorham Kindem. 79-83. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Laemmle, Carl. 1927 [2005]. 'This Business of Motion Pictures.' *Fort Lee: The Film Town*, by Richard Koszarski. 27-30. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Langlois, Henri. n.d. Cahiers 27/1, Fonds Henri Langlois. Cinémathèque française. LANGLOIS28-B2. n.pag.
- Le Forestier, Laurent. 2006. *Aux sources de l'industrie du cinéma: le modèle Pathé. 1905-1908*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Lherminier, Pierre. 2006. 'Chronologie.' *Écrits autobiographiques*, by Charles Pathé. Edited by Pierre Lherminier, 303-331. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Loughney, Patrick. 1999. 'Jones' Burglar.' In *The Griffith Project: vol. 3: Films Produced in July-December 1909*, edited by Paolo Cherchi Usai, 1-2. London: British Film Institute, 1999.
- Mast, Gerald. 1976. *A Short History of the Movies*. 2nd ed. Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Mast, Gerald and Bruce F. Kawin. 2010. *A Short History of the Movies*. 11th ed. London: Longman.
- McDonald, Paul. 2000. *The Star System: Hollywood's Production of Popular Identities*. London: Wallflower.
- Monsaingeon, Églantine. 2004. 'Les catalogues Pathé de 1900 à 1907: Un registre de consignes de lecture.' In *La Firme Pathé Frères 1896-1914*, edited by Michel Marie, Laurent le Forestier and Catherine Schapira, 247-252. Paris: Association Française de Recherche sur l'Histoire du Cinéma.
- Morris, B.L. 31 Dec. 1909. 'Advance Advertising of Programs.' *Moving Picture World* 5 (27): 957.
- O'Rourke, Chris. 2011. 'How to become a bioscope model: Transition, mediation and the language of film performance.' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 9 (3): 191-201.
- Renken, Georg. n.d. 'En Bombe.' *Max Linder Filmografie*. Accessed 26 Aug. 2015. <<http://www.maxlinder.de/enbombe.htm>>.
- Slide, Anthony. Dec. 1974. 'The Evolution of the Film Star.' *Films in Review* 25: 591-4.
- Turpin, Ben. "Life of a Moving Picture Comedian." *Moving Picture World* 4 (14): 405.
- Vincendeau, Ginette. 2000. *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema*. London: Continuum.

Notes

¹ Unfortunately, Lherminier makes the mistake of claiming that this occurred because in October 1909 André Deed left Pathé for the Italian company Itala ("**Octobre** [1909] – Le départ d'André Deed pour l'Italie favorise la carrière de Max Linder, qui devient une vedette à part entière chez Pathé" [**October** [1909] – The departure of André Deed for Italy promotes the career of Max Linder, who became a star in his own right at Pathé]); Deed actually left Pathé in late 1908.

² Vincendeau cites Abel's remark about "Linder ... appearing in a regular series of Pathé comedies with his name soon included in each film's advertisement" (1994, 237) cited above.

³ Abel reports that this exact copy was also used in the 19 March 1910 issue of *Film Index*, and that Linder was also named in the 15 March 1910 issue of *Nickelodeon* (1999, 271n73), but I have not yet been able to confirm these. In 1994 Abel wrote that "[i]n the United States, Linder was first referred to by name as one of the best film comedians for his role in *The Servant's Good Joke*" in the *Moving Picture World* issue of 25 September 1909" (513n135),

but this was an error: although the writer of the synopsis recognised Linder (and accurately mentioned several of his previous films, as will be discussed below), s/he did not mention his name (Anon. 25 Sept. 1909, 425).

⁴ There are some earlier instances of Linder's name appearing in trade journals associated with the stage and film, but these can all be regarded as crediting to a small audiences rather than elements of a publicity campaign orchestrated by an employer (see Georg Renken's chronicle of Linder's career for examples of these (Georg Renken, 'Chronique Français', *Max Linder Filmography*, Sept. 2014, <<http://www.maxlinder.de/chroniqueFrancais.htm>>), including Georg's discovery that Linder's name was being used by advertising for the Cinematographo Pathe in Rio de Janeiro from the 5 June 1908 issue of the *Gazeta de Notícias*, and that this venue consistently used his name, when they were showing his films, for roughly a year: Clearly, a system of celebrity can exist without a publicity campaign initiated by the employer (it is likely that the venue's staff learned his name from one of these isolated instances of crediting), but such a publicity campaign is necessary for celebrity to obtain at a level any higher than the local level).

⁵ For example, Pathé's London office was issuing a *Weekly Illustrated Bulletin and Supplement* by mid-November 1909 (Anon. 18 Nov. 1909, 65).

⁶ While no versions of this poster with text in languages other than French seem to have survived, there is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that publicity oriented at the general public, publicity which named Linder, was also issued alongside *Le petit jeune homme* at least in the UK: in the February 1911 issue of the popular publication *The Strand Magazine*, in an article entitled 'In a Biograph Theatre', which combined behind-the-scenes accounts of film production with plot summaries of a handful of comedies and dramas, Linder was named in a synopsis of *Le petit jeune homme* (though the article did not state the title of the film, the plot synopsis, frame enlargement and caption all correspond to *Le petit jeune homme*): "We now pass on to another favourite of the biograph theatre, Max Linder, who impersonates a youth supposed to be smitten with the charms of two damsels" (George S. Guy, Feb. 1911, 160). This particular association of Linder with a film that had been issued in the UK roughly fourteen months before this article was written suggests that it was memorable precisely because it was the first film with in connection with which Linder's name was publicly issued.

⁷ For example, the Pathé films announced in the 6 September 1909 issue of *Kinéma* had already been listed, under English titles, in the 12 August 1909 issue of *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* (Anon. 6 Sept. 1909, 9; Anon. 12 Aug. 1909, 690).

⁸ Charles Pathé's intention to shortly adopt this system of releasing films as twice-weekly programmes rather than individually was announced in early June 1909 (Anon. 7-13 June 1909, 4).

⁹ Items held by the Cinémathèque française, the Cinémathèque de Toulouse and the Cinémathèque de Corse. In addition to these 45 films for which posters exist, *Mimi Pinson*, for which a poster survives, is also dated to 1909 by the Cinémathèque française, and would seem to propose a problem with this picture, as the poster both gives the names of the performers and has no distinguishing Art/SCAGL brand, but a surviving fragment of S.C.A.G.L.'s own production records indicate that this dating is an error: *Mimi Pinson* was not being produced until mid-January 1911 (Anon. 1910-1911, n.pag.).

¹⁰ The "[p]remière representation" of *Le roi* at the Variétés was announced in Anon. 24 Apr. 1908, 6, with Linder in the cast list. Linder's understudying for Dearly was mentioned in the 1 July 1908 issue of *Le culture physique* (Dubois 1 July 1908, 1185; thanks to Georg Renken for this reference) and mentioned again in the 2 February 1909 issue of *Comedia* (Anon. 2 Feb. 1909, 5). Linder's name appears in the cast list attached to the list of characters in a 1908 published version of the script for *Le roi* (de Caillavet, de Flers and Arène 1908, facing page 1).

¹¹ Though I have no evidence of the date of the film's first showing in France (even in 1908 Pathé's films were not mentioned in *Ciné-Journal*), it was released in America in early October 1908: it was listed (as *The Fake Doctor*) under Pathé's latest films in the 10 October 1908 issue of *Moving Picture World* (Anon. 10 Oct. 1908, 287) and reviewed in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* on 17 October 1908 (Anon. 17 Oct. 1908, 11). Henri Bousquet's dating of December 1908 (1993, 140) therefore seems a little late.

¹² His name last appeared in the cast list for *Le roi* printed in *Comedia* on 5 June 1909 (Anon. 5 June 1909, 6).

¹³ This career hiatus was later reported in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* (Anon. 30 July 1910, 26).

¹⁴ For example, a synopsis for *Aimé par sa bonne* (under the title *Loved by his Servant*) was printed in the 29 July 1909 issue of *Bioscope*. Although release dates for films were not formalised in the UK by this point, they would be from around the last few days of 1909, and, during the first few months of the release-date system the average gap between, first, the appearance of synopses and inclusion of film titles in lists of 'Latest Productions' in the UK trade papers and, second, each film's release date was 6-9 days. It is therefore reasonable to estimate this was the rough time gap between the appearance of trade publicity and a film becoming available for purchase in the few months immediately before this system was adopted, making for a rough UK issue date for *Aimé par sa bonne* of 4-7 August 1909 (Anon. 29 July 1909a, 26). This matches the date given for *Aimé par sa bonne* (under the title of *Vom Dienstmädchen geliebt*) in the *Kinematoscope Zeitung* above.

¹⁵ *Aimé par sa bonne* (165 metres) was listed under 'Les nouveaux films' in the 16 August 1909 issue of *Kinéma* (Anon. 16 Aug. 1909, 9).

¹⁶ For example, the two writers who produced the synopses of *Aimé par sa bonne* (titled *Loved by His Servant* in the UK) for *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* and *Bioscope* did not state Linder's name (Anon. 29 July 1909b, 587-90; Anon. 29 July 1909a, 26).

¹⁷ The German trade paper *Der Deutsche Lichtspieltheater-Besitzer* [*The German Cinema Owner*] of 19 August 1909 included a near-verbatim account of the film: “Diese Szene wird von einem sehr beliebten Schauspieler, welcher uns schon von den Bildern: “Meine Hose ist geplatzt, August geht zum Ball” u.a.m. her bekannt ist, gespielt. [This scene is played by a very popular actor, known to us from “My Trousers are Split”, “August Goes to the Ball”, etc.].” It is therefore possible that both pieces of copy were taken from an earlier publication, meaning that they either evidence recognition by an earlier writer or a choice by Pathé to seek to foster anonymous recognition of Linder in their publicity. Thanks to Georg Renken for both of these references.

¹⁸ As Églantine Monsaingeon shows, Pathé already had a system of nine distinct genres, each with its own number, by the time it issued its 1900 catalogue (2004, 248). By the time of their 1907 annual catalogue (i.e. for all films issued by the end of 1906) they had established twelve genres/séries: 1. “Scènes de plein air”, 2. “Scènes comiques”, 3. “Scènes à Trucs”, 4. “Sports – Acrobatie”, 5. “Scènes historiques, politiques et d’actualité; Scènes militaires”, 6. “Scènes grivoises d’un caractère piquant”, 7. “Danses & Ballets”, 8. “Scènes dramatiques & réalistes”, 9. “Féeries & Contes”, 10. “Scènes religieuses & bibliques”, 11. “Scènes Ciné-phonographiques”, 12. “Scènes diverses” (Anon. c. Dec. 1906, n.pag.). Though surviving copies of Pathé’s catalogues for the ensuing years are sparse, a set of surviving copies of German weekly releases for the last four months of 1908 still employed exactly this 12-genre system (Anon. 26. Sept. 1908, n.pag.). The sufficiency of the production company brand for cinema managers is suggested by a late-December 1909 contribution to *Moving Picture World*, in which an exhibitor advised fellow exhibitors that, when advertising in local newspaper, they should “give the title of the film, its maker and a brief synopsis of the story. ... Educate your patrons to the names of the different manufacturers. Familiarize them, let each one stand for something, just the same as Belasco, Erlanger, Nixon, Thomas and many other names stand for something in the living theatres.” (Morris 31 Dec. 1909, 957.)

¹⁹ Although deCordova criticises accounts that claim that employers were wary of creating this value in their employees because they it would have given them reason to demand higher salaries (7), he does not mention the idea that they were concerned that this value would have wandered to another employer, and there are several instances of evidence that this worry was indeed common at the time. In April 1911 the editor of *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly*, after writing to all of the production companies releasing films in the UK, wrote that he “was surprised at being refused photographs of certain actors and actresses when I mooted our special number containing “People in Pictures.” One or two firms objected to their characters figuring in print, the chief reason being that other makers would get to know them and capture them for their own productions.” Even though he went on to explain that many of the other companies had not expressed this concern, and that one had even ridiculed it, this suggests that an earlier and more widespread concern was only being gradually overcome by the industry as a whole (Anon. 13 Apr. 1911, 1556.) This concern was still being expressed as late as the end of 1911: in a letter from the Copenhagen office of Nordisk to the London office of Nordisk in a letter dated 21 December 1911 the staff at the Copenhagen office stated that “we principally decline to state the names of our players” (Anon. 21 Dec. 1911; thanks to Isak Thorsen for bringing this letter to my attention). In his autobiography, the film production company manager Cecil Hepworth also recalled encountering this situation (1951, 81).

²⁰ For example, one of the historians cited by deCordova, Gorham Kindem, sees the role of the public as no more important than the trade war in the US film business, and overtly avoids stating that the public were clamouring for specific names: instead he refers to “the intense demand of movie audiences for specific performers”; that is, for him audiences were demanding appearances in films (whether under real names, nicknames or pseudonyms) rather the divulging of names (1982 80.)

²¹ *Le petit jeune homme* was either the third or fourth film in his new stint: there is doubt about whether Linder appeared in *La barbe de Théodore*.

²² Richard Abel remarks, on the basis of a survey of Linder’s films, that before 1909 he “alternated between performing as the lead and simply walking on as an extra” (1994, 236).

²³ Richard Abel remarks, mistakenly, that the film was mentioned in *Comadia* on 7 November 1909 (1994, 451): this issue of *Comadia* actually referred to Linder’s name appearing in the Omnia Pathé’s publicity for *Un mariage Américain*.

²⁴ Indeed, a latent point in deCordova’s argument is that *if* the French pantomimist Pilar-Morin, who performed for the Edison company in a stint of roughly seven films in late 1909 and early 1910, had decided to stay with the Edison company permanently, she would have been the first film star in America (1990, 43-44).

²⁵ Richard deCordova and Anthony Slide have championed earlier mentions of names of hitherto anonymous performers in the US trade press, but these can all be categorised as isolated instances of crediting to a limited audience rather than concerted publicity campaigns. The Kalem Company, for example, supplied the *New York Dramatic Mirror* with a group photograph of their stock company, with each person named, for their first issue of 1909 (Anon. 2 Jan. 1909, 8) but the company issued no more information about any of these people for sixteen months. Anthony Slide champions Ben Turpin, at the time working for Essanay, as “[p]ossibly the first film actor to be recognized by the trade press” (Slide Dec. 1974, 591): his name was included in a review of *Oh, What Lungs*, *A Midnight Disturbance* and *The Rube and the Bunco Men* in, respectively the 20 March, 27 March and 17 April 1909 issues of *Moving Picture World* (338, 368, 478), and an article, “Life of a Moving Picture Comedian,” appeared under his name in the 3 April 1909 issue of *Moving Picture World* (405), but this brief openness within the trade on Essanay’s

part does not seem to have been accompanied by any publicity to the general public and seems to have been aborted in April 1909. deCordova cites the Edison company's provision of cast lists to the trade in September and October 1909 (1990, 53) – Edison published articles on specific stock company actors in three issues of their *Edison Kinetogram* (15 Sept. 1909, 1 Oct. 1909 & 15 Dec. 1909) – but he does not mention that these were one-off instances or that they were all related to the involvement of two prestigious local authors, Carolyn Wells and Edward Townsend, who had been commissioned by Edison to write scenarios for them. *Ethel's Luncheon*, the first of the films to be accompanied by cast lists in the *Edison Kinetogram*, was advertised by the Edison Company as “[a] comedy by Carolyn Wells. ... Brimful of laughter and amusing complications. Special cast for the production.” The same advertisement announced that *Little Sister* was “[e]specially written for Edison ... by Edw[ard]. W. Townsend, author of “Chimmie Fadden,” and interpreted by a special cast.” (Anon. 4 Sept. 1909, 322). That is, in providing these lists of names in synopses the Edison Company was insisting on the prestigious nature of the films rather than making efforts to build celebrity profiles for their employees. Likewise, display boards comprised of photographs of stock company members, produced by Kalem in January 1910 and Vitagraph in April 1910, both presented the photographs anonymously.

²⁶ The decision to form the new company was noted in Anon. 12 June 1909, 790, and the name ‘IMP’ was announced in Anon. 3 July 1909, 22.

²⁷ *The Griffith Project* has narrowed down the date of Lawrence's last work for American Biograph to somewhere in the last few days of June or the first few days of July 1909, for *Jones' Burglar* (Loughney, 1999, 2).

²⁸ A notice in the 16 October 1909 issue of *Variety* announced that “Miss Lawrence, the former star actress of the Biograph's stock company has been with the Laemmle firm [i.e. IMP] for the past six weeks. She will appear in the first Laemmle release of Oct. 25” (Anon. 16 Oct. 1909, 13). As *Variety* printed dates above most of its news items, and as most of the US news items in this issue of the magazine bore the date 14 October 1909, it is appropriate to regard this as the rough date of their reception of IMP's announcement of the acquisition of Lawrence, meaning that, if she had indeed signed her contract with them exactly six weeks before, the announcement indicates that the contract started on 2 September 1909.

²⁹ Kelly Brown, Lawrence's biographer, mistakenly assumes that Laemmle was back from this trip by July 1909 (1999, 42).

³⁰ For example, shortly after his return he stated his plans for using colour film (Anon. 27 Nov. 1909a, 764), which indicates that he was exposed to the Europe-wide publicity for Kinemacolor, which had not yet been shown in the US; Kinemacolor had its US debut on 11 December 1909 (Anon. 18 Dec. 1909a, 873-4).

³¹ Maybelle Kelley, an employee of the Bell Theatre in Sacramento, California, wrote to American Mutoscope & Biograph, enclosing one of their bulletins showing an image from *Tomboy Willie*, asking for “the name of the young lady or if she would be so kind as to send me a picture of herself”. The letter was dated 11 December 1908 (Kelley). See also deCordova 1990, 56-7.

³² In a detailed review of Biograph's *Lady Helen's Escapade*, printed in the *Moving Picture World* of 24 April 1909, after praising “the Biograph players” as a whole, the copywriter remarked that “the chief honours of the picture are borne by the now famous Biograph girl, who must be gratified by the silent celebrity she has achieved. This lady combines with very great personal attractions very fine dramatic ability indeed” (Anon. 24 Apr. 1909, 515).

³³ *Never Again* was released in the US on 24 January 1910 and the postmark on the postcard might read 25 or 29 January 1910.

³⁴ A synopsis in *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* for *Twisted Trail*, released in the UK on 15 May 1910, included the remark that “in this picture the leading part is taken by that excellent actress Miss Dorothy Nicholson” (Anon. 12 May 1910, 53).

³⁵ Even by July 1908 Pathé was adhering to a limit of 4,000 feet per week (Anon, 6 July 1908; 13 July 1908; 27 July 1908; 3 Aug. 1908; 10 Aug. 1908; 17 Aug. 1908, n.pag.). This was still the case in November 1909 (Anon. 29 Nov. 1909, n.pag.).

³⁶ Though there is some uncertainty amongst Linder's filmographers about whether Linder performed in *La barbe de Théodore*, a still from the film preserved by the Cinémathèque française almost certainly shows Linder in the role of *Théodore*: though the man is turning away from the camera, he has Linder's hairstyle and body shape (*La barbe de Théodore*, photographes, Cinémathèque française, Paris, PO0040233).

³⁷ This date is calculated on the basis of the difference between the date when certain films were listed in issues of *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* and the dates when the same films were listed in issues of *Kinéma* and extending that time lag between Europe-wide and French issue/release dates into the period immediately after the surviving copies of *Kinéma* end (the last surviving issue is the 6 September 1909 issue).

³⁸ Indeed, as the date of this ‘Maxing’ in the US reflects the date of the decision to begin ‘Maxing’ in Europe, the appearance of the notice of the release of *Max Leads them a Novel Chase* in the 28 May 1910 issue of *Moving Picture World*, published on 21 May 1910, and for which copy would have been needed by mid-May 1910, suggests that Pathé had made the decision to begin ‘Maxing’ Linder's films in both Europe and America at the beginning of May 1910 (Anon. 28 May 1910b, 902).

³⁹ The 17 December 1910 issue of *The Film Index* included the news that Max Linder had paused work to have an appendectomy (Anon. 17 Dec. 1910, 3), and the 31 December 1910 issue announced receiving a copy of Max

Linder's card which bore a hand-written note, which the magazine reproduced, stating that "I have recovered and am again appearing in Pathe Frerés [sic] films" (Anon. 31 Dec. 1910, 2.). The three errors in the accenting of Pathé Frères suggest that this was a piece of publicity designed by Pathé's American staff.

⁴⁰ For examples of introductions to star studies that channel deCordova's thesis see Butler 1998, 344 and McDonald 2000, 16, 29-33.

⁴¹ For deCordova's claims about the ideas conveyed by the use of the term 'pose' in descriptions of film performance, see 1990 34-36.

⁴² Even in a special issue of *Kinematograph & Lantern Weekly* on 'People and Pictures', which marked a new willingness of companies releasing films in the UK to provide the names of their performer employees, none of the companies who provided names was from the UK (Anon. 30 Mar. 1911). It was only in late April 1911 that the publication featured the name of a performer employee of a native company, Flora Morris of Hepworth (see Anon. 27 Apr. 1911, 1775).